

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 CU-02 IO-13 DHA-02 ACDA-07 OES-06 CEQ-01

EPA-01 EB-08 COME-00 OMB-01 BIB-01 ORM-02 /102 W

-----032038Z 008616 /50

R 031945Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6133

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, GW, FI

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SUBJECT: CSCE: GERMAN-FINNISH BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

REFS: (A) HELSINKI 0355; (B) BONN 03372

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE RECENT GERMAN-FINNISH BILATERAL  
CONSULTATIONS, THE FINNS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE  
CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION WOULD NOT DAMAGE DETENTE

WHEREAS THE GERMANS THOUGHT THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION IN BELGRADE WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND MIGHT HAVE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES IF OVERDONE. THE GERMANS DISCUSSED WITH THE FINNS THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A WORKING GROUP TO STUDY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SEVENTH PRINCIPLE (RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS). ON BASKET II, THE FRG SAID IT WAS STUDYING THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECT OF THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. THE FRG MADE IT CLEAR THAT ITS MAIN INTEREST IN BASKET II WAS IN IMPROVED BUSINESS INFORMATION AND DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN BUSINESSMEN. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF CSCE DIRECTOR VON GROLL HAS BRIEFED US ON THE FEB. 15 GERMAN-FINNISH POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING IN HELSINKI WHICH FOCUSED ON CSCE (REF A). VAN WELL REPRESENTED THE FRG, WHILE AMBASSADOR ILONIEMI SPOKE FOR THE GOF.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS. ILONIEMI BEGAN THE CONSULTATIONS BY REFERRING TO THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION AND NOTED THAT, IN HIS OPINION, DETENTE WOULD NOT SUFFER SERIOUS DAMAGE. HE SAID THAT HE HAD SEEN SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS ZENSKOV AND KOVALYOV THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 6 AND THAT THEY HAD LITTLE UNDERSTANDING FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION IN THE U.S.

VAN WELL SAID THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION IN BELGRADE WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND MUST MOVE ALONG A NARROW PATH. HE THOUGHT THAT ANY OVERDOING OF THE ISSUE WOULD

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UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES. HE SAID THE EAST HAD WARNED THE WEST PUBLICLY AGAINST COMPLAINING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. VAN WELL CONTINUED THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT EXAGGERATE SUCH WARNINGS NOR COULD THE WEST REMAIN COMPLETELY SILENT. HE TOLD THE FINNS THE WEST WOULD FOLLOW INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE VERY CAREFULLY.

VAN WELL THOUGHT THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD PLEAD "NON-INTERVENTION" IN CONNECTION WITH BASKET III PROVISIONS. HE THOUGHT THE WEST SHOULD STRESS PRINCIPLE VII ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, BUT NOT CONFUSE THIS PRINCIPLE WITH BASKET III PROVISIONS WHICH INVOLVED AN INTEREST IN CROSSING BORDERS IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN CONTACTS, INFORMATION AND CULTURE. VAN WELL POINTED OUT THAT THE SEVENTH PRINCIPLE CONCERNED STATE BEHAVIOR VIS-A-VIS ITS OWN CITIZENS WHICH WAS VIEWED BY THE WEST AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF DETENTE. THE FRG WOULD PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A DISCUSSION ON HUMAN

RIGHTS BUT WOULD NOT BE THE "POINT OF THE SPEAR" SO AS  
NOT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION STOOD  
AT THE CENTER OF CSCE.

3. THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THE FRG SAID IT BELIEVED  
THE GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION WILL HAVE A STRONG  
EFFECT ON BELGRADE. IT SAID BELGRADE SHOULD NOT BE  
PLAYED DOWN BUT RATHER MOVED INTO THE PROPER PERSPECTIVE.  
BELGRADE INVOLVED AN EVALUATION AND STOCKTAKING, BUT THAT

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EPA-01 EB-08 COME-00 OMB-01 BIB-01 ORM-02 /102 W  
-----032039Z 008681 /50

R 031945Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6134  
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
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AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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TOO WAS AN IMPORTANT EVENT. THE DISCUSSION ON ORGAN-  
IZATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE WAS AS REPORTED REF  
A.

4. BASKET II. THE GERMANS EXPLAINED THAT THE EC  
COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS HAD EXAMINED THE BREZHNEV PRO-  
POSALS AND EVALUATED THEM SKEPTICALLY. THE GERMANS  
POINTED OUT THAT MOST THEMES HAD BEEN EXAMINED BY THE  
ECE AND THAT THE FRG WANTED NO NEW STRUCTURES. NEVER-  
THELESS, THE FRG SAW POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE  
ENVIRONMENTAL AREA AND WAS CURRENTLY STUDYING THE QUES-  
TION OF WHICH AREAS WERE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE FRG,  
ALTHOUGH THE EAST HAD PROVIDED FEW DETAILS. AMBASSADOR  
ILONIEMI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE SOVIETS WERE WORKING OUT  
A MORE EXACT CONCEPT.

VAN WELL INDICATED THAT THE FRG INTEREST IN BASKET  
II WAS, ABOVE ALL, IMPROVED BUSINESS INFORMATION AND  
DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN BUSINESSMEN. THE FINNS AGREED  
WITH THIS. VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
BUSINESS REPRESENTATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAD BEEN  
IMPROVED BUT THAT THERE WERE STILL MANY RESTRICTIONS AND  
HIGH FEES DEMANDED. THE FRG WAS INTERESTED FURTHER IN  
INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF JOINT VENTURES.  
THE FRG WAS ALSO CONSIDERING WHETHER PROBLEMS OF DEVELOP-  
ING COUNTRIES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE CSCE CONTEXT.  
ON THIS POINT, THE FINNS THOUGHT IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL.  
(COMMENT: DURING A DISCUSSION WITH THE ECON/COMMERCIAL  
MINISTER ON MARCH 1, ECONOMICS MINISTRY ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY STEEG SAID THAT SHE WAS RELIEVED THAT  
SUGGESTIONS THAT THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE SHOULD BE SUB-  
JECT FOR DISCUSSION AT BELGRADE HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN IN  
INTERMINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS. SHE THOUGHT SUCH A DIS-  
CUSSION WOULD ONLY MUDDY THE WATERS AND OPEN THE DOOR TO  
SOVIET BLOC PROPAGANDA THEREBY PREEMPTING TIME WHICH  
COULD OTHERWISE BE DEVOTED TO EXPOSURE OF SOVIET  
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FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT).

ILONIEMI NOTED THAT THE EAST HAD NOT REACHED ITS BASKET II GOALS IN GENEVA AND WOULD MOST PROBABLY ATTEMPT TO MAKE MFN THE CENTERPIECE OF FUTURE EFFORTS.

5. BASKET III.

CONTACTS: THE FRG INDICATED IT SAW GREAT ADVANTAGES IN THE FACT THAT HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS WERE NOW ON THE AGENDA IN ALL BILATERAL CONTACTS. THE FRG WAS SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS. HERE THE GERMANS CITED STATISTICS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WITH ROMANIA STILL A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT.

THE GERMANS ADMITTED TO RESTRICTIVE VISA PRACTICES. WHILE POINTING OUT THAT THEY COULD NOT DO AWAY WITH THEM COMPLETELY, THEY SAID THEY WERE MAKING AN EFFORT TO SHORTEN THE VISA ISSUANCE WAITING PERIOD.

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R 031945Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
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INFORMATION: THE GERMANS REFERRED TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH VARIOUS GERMAN JOURNALISTS HAVE HAD. VAN WELL NOTED THE POSSIBLE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION ON THE FREER EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION QUESTION IF THE EAST PURSUED ITS LINE THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONTROL THEIR OWN MEDIA.

CULTURE: HERE THE GERMANS REFERRED TO THE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES THEY WERE HAVING IN SETTING UP READING ROOMS, CULTURAL CENTERS OR LIBRARIES IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH THE FRG HAD CORRESPONDING AGREEMENTS WITH ROMANIA, POLAND AND HUNGARY, NO REAL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE.

6. FEAR OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE GDR. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG FEARED THE GDR WILL ATTEMPT TO INTERNATIONALIZE BILATERAL PROBLEMS DURING THE DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES. HE POINTED OUT THE FRG HAD A SERIES OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE GDR WHICH IT CONSIDERED MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FINAL ACT. HE REFERRED TO THE AGREEMENT GOVERNING THE STATUS OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIONS AND THE FACT THAT THE TWO STATES HAD AGREED TO DISAGREE ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY. VAN WELL SAID THAT, SHOULD THE GDR RAISE SUCH QUESTIONS, THE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION EXISTED.

7. COMMENT: VAN WELL'S EXPRESSED DESIRE THAT THE FRG NOT BE THE "POINT OF THE SPEAR" ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IS IN KEEPING WITH THE GENERAL GERMAN INTEREST TO TRY TO KEEP EAST-WEST RELATIONS ON AS EVEN A KEEL AS POSSIBLE.

THE GERMANS ARE GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF U.S. INITIATIVES  
IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE THUS FAR NOT  
WILLING TO GO AS FAR AS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IN  
RECEIVING SOVIET DISSIDENTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FRG IS  
WILLING TO RECEIVE AMALRIK -- MORE THAN THE FRENCH WOULD  
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DO -- BUT AT THE STATE MINISTER RATHER THAN HIGHEST  
GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL (REF B). "DEUTSCHLANDFUNK" REPORTED  
MARCH 3 THAT STATE MINISTER WISCHNEWSKI WOULD RECEIVE  
AMALRIK TODAY AND THAT CDU/CSU OPPOSITION LEADER KOHL  
WOULD ALSO MEET WITH HIM.

GERMAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE PLAYED THE FRG POSITION  
VIS-A-VIS HUMAN RIGHTS DEPENDING UPON THEIR OWN POLITICAL  
ORIENTATION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MARCH 2 EDITION OF THE  
"BONNER RUNDSCHAU" (PRO-CDU) POINTED OUT THAT, WHILE THE  
PRESIDENT HAD RECEIVED BUKOVSKY, THE GOVERNMENT AND  
COALITION PARTIES "SHUNNED HIM LIKE THE PLAGUE." A PRO-  
SPD NEWSPAPER ("NEUE RHEIN ZEITUNG"), ON THE OTHER HAND,  
REPORTED THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD MENTIONED BUKOVSKY'S  
NAME TO BREZHNEV TWO YEARS AGO AND THAT THE FIGHT FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS WAS NOT AN INVENTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S.

RE PARA FIVE: WHAT VAN WELL TOLD THE FINNS ON  
FAMILY REUNIFICATION DOES NOT AGREE PRECISELY WITH WHAT  
FONOFF SOURCES HAVE TOLD US. THE LATTER CLAIM THAT  
ROMANIA'S PERFORMANCE ON THE EXIT OF ETHNIC GERMANS IS  
THE "GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT," NOT FAMILY REUNIFICATION.  
FRG SATISFACTION WITH CZECH PERFORMANCE IS MUCH LESS THAN  
ITS SATISFACTION WITH THE USSR AND POLAND.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, SHUM, GE, FI, CSCE, (BOELLING, KLAUS)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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